361 823 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the [887] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nsâlang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

● [764] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 572 64 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/. The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuña or aval. The tribe (ayoñ) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
611 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
609 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim
578 but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

761 Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his
775 death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

763 The dying person (edzeĝela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

764 there are placed in it the arms or some everyday objects of the deceased. Then everyone goes back to the village, the women crying. The close relatives of the deceased go into mourning, which is much stricter for a woman than for a man; we have already seen what comprises the mourning of a widow. As for the widower, after having
765 stayed for two or three days in a state of prostration, often simulated, he continues to look after his work as usual, remaining meanwhile under the obligation to stay dirty until the celebrations at the end of mourning.

763 The autopsy of the corpse to find the evur is done at the edge of the
775 grave, after the women have been sent away. The package containing [ 93] the corpse is undone and the practitioner operates with a large knife made especially for this purpose. He has previously painted his face half black, half red so that the deceased will not recognise him and cannot come from his abode in the village of Nzame to avenge himself for the mutilation he is undergoing. When the operation is finished, the corpse is sewed up, re-wrapped, and placed normally in the grave.

764 There is no cemetery, and the dead are buried a short distance from the village, almost behind the huts. Sometimes when a person is thought to have died from having been eaten by the bivur, in order that the grave may not be violated for the purpose of removing a piece of the corpse, it is buried in the very hut of the head of the family.

775 The life of the dead in the village of Nzame is identical with that which they had at home; they do the same work, have the same entertainments, marry, procreate, always stay young, and also have the power to do whatever they wish; it is enough for them to express a wish for it to be granted.

The dead sometimes leave their abode to return to the earth, perhaps in the form of phantoms with long hair to frighten the living, meeting a phantom being fatal, or perhaps in the shape of animals in order to avenge themselves. Some may change themselves into an elephant and ravage the fields of their enemies; others change into a panther and kill all the livestock and poultry and sometimes even the inhabitants of the village where they were unhappy in life. When they
[787] wish to be beneficent, they appear in the dreams of their relatives and friends and give them wise advice.

Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; bracelets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains, bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her affinal household and which could not be removed until after death, by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decomposition. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's family, even in case of divorce; the éta was the person who distributed it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten; placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore, these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type, from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English "slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home, imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled right above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from "woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyaliwe (from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no panties except for a few young modernists (who call them calecons, "drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants. Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

### f. Death and the Afterlife

Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɔ̀ɔ̀ more than another, because a nya mɔ̀ɔ̀ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengaŋ would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, niem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, ɛ́wɔ̀mɔ̀ɔ̀, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem, the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

824 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1)

[177] 1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824] The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nkɛ́ = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull;
[774] this was cut off by the privileged heir, njian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the biéti shrine, after dye-
[326] ing it with baa. A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the biéti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, benya binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

763 787 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had 695 to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from 783 an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he 766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate 791 family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general 783 purification was undertaken.

177 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one
●764 would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In
[795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European
177 black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports
774 the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisin

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legs are flung to right and left alternately; two very lively steps, a pause, two successive jetés to the right and left, and a swaying of the body above the hips make up this dance, which has real beauty and does not lack a certain style.

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The circumcision dance is entirely different. The young candidates, painted white from head to foot and dressed in garments of leaves, are led by the initiator before the assembled participants, as soon as the preparatory rites have ended and the operation is to be performed. Grown, circumcised men stand on one side, the ritual experts in the middle, those to be circumcised [511] on the other side. The dance begins. First of all, it consists of an immense circle, which spreads out and turns around the area; then the movement quickens, hands are dropped, and each person leaps and shimmies about on his own, still keeping time, which is marked out by the tom-tom. Moreover, in spite of what appears to be disorder, one soon sees that all movements are regular, perfectly conceived and executed without a hitch, without mistake, without getting out of step. Soon sweat is pouring down the dancers' arms and legs; one after another they go back to their places; only the candidates continue and their dance turns into a spinning in almost one place, on the toes, with hands stretched horizontally. Then, suddenly, at a signal from the tom-tom, the dance stops abruptly: the young dancers rush to their places, sit down, and the operations begin.

Each time the practitioner circumcises a boy, he stands up, holding in his hand proof of the operation, then does a quick dance step consisting of a few merry leaps, to the accompaniment of a special song, which everyone sings together.

When the operations are over, the youths who have been circumcised perform a short dance intended to show their fortitude; it is of just a few steps, done any old way. Then the boys quickly return to their huts, held up by their friends.

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The funeral dance is much more beautiful. Far from being dignified and solemn, the fanki is exceedingly lively and complicated, representing, theoretically, the soul of the dead man leaving his body and later reaching the world of spirits.

164 The soul looks everywhere for a new dwelling; it is repulsed on 535 all sides, but at last finds its rightful place. This dance has only a distant connection with totemic performances and so we do not need to be concerned with it.

179 Genuinely totemic dances are infrequent and are only 535 performed on important occasions, such as war and above all after a victory. However, they are also part of burial rites and are put on after the fanki at the death of a chief. [512]

The totemic dance expresses the link between the head [chef] of the race and his totem. It depicts the totem, sometimes in a symbolic, sometimes in a representational, manner. If, as often happens, the totem is an animal, the dance will be really lively; these are the finest examples. In addition, the dancer's talent should go to copying as closely as possible the animal's pace, habits, way of life, in a word, to mime it as accurately as possible.

I have seen some of these totemic dances performed with extraordinary skill. Out of many occasions, there was once one, among the Yemvi, whose totem is a kind of flower called mvi: the dancer, moving to a very fast tempo, first outlined the shape of the flower, imitated its appearance by gestures, by an extraordinary swaying of the hips, which involved sometimes bending so far backward that his head would touch the ground without for a second losing the rhythm; from time to time, his arms and head would sweep the ground to the right and the left with incredible swiftness. Then came the blossoming: growth from bud to flower, soon to full bloom. Finally he portrayed the symbolic covenant between the father of the race and the flower, which was brought to him by a spirit. The same dancer presented a really striking contrast between the slow, weighed down, ponderous bearing of the racial chief and the light, elusive, airy, as it were, movements of the spirit approaching, retreating, and approaching again. This entirely symbolic dance has sometimes been quite erroneously interpreted by explorers as being erotic.

When the totem is an animal, the dance is obviously much simpler and more representational. The dancer mimes an animal

goes to the sick man's hut. A variety of remedies are used, among them always a dance in honor of the totem. After the dance and the driving out of the evil spirits [576] that torment the sick man, a sacrifice is made, often of a she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl. The sick man always has to eat some of this sacrifice, and the practitioner mixes into it fragments of the patient's family totem, as he does into any potions administered. If the sick man recovers, he will have to offer a black hen on the évora biéri before he leaves his hut. The hen will then be burnt according to the sacred rituals.

If the man dies, his eldest son closes his eyes and straightens the arms and legs before they become stiff, after which the corpse may not be touched, under grave penalties. The lamentations begin, but in an undertone; the dead man's wives gather around him, tear at their arms and legs, and with the blood that flows sprinkle the corpse. He is then covered with his fetishes and at his side is the mébup on which his family totem is hung. After the first lamentations are over, the commotion quiets down and only the dead man's wives continue to weep.

In the morning the eldest son and heir offers a sacrifice to the deceased's family totem so that it may continue to favor the survivors. He puts some of the victim's blood into the mouth of the corpse and also takes some in his own mouth. He then completes the sacrifice according to the customary rites.

Before the burial another sacrifice will be made in order to determine the location of the grave and to make sure that the dead man is satisfied. The corpse is made to partake of this sacrifice too.

At the appropriate time, the dead man is placed in the grave dug for him; his family totem lies beside him, and, if he is a tribal chief, the clan or tribal totem is also placed at his side. This is left to him for a few moments, then the heir removes it, so as to "take possession."

The same ceremonies are observed when the skull is removed, 30 days after death.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9



to obtain any accounts touching on its introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with ashes and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, it usually commences with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Cicatrization is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being flattened out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

## IV.—*Habitations.*

The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribe. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy the *abeng* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *abeng* (palaver house) is built across one end of the main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9



places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

## XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised. Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). The witch doctor, *nganga*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ó nan Ó! Ó tat Ó!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

## XVIII.—*Akôm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *ebi*. It is, however, practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobe ne kid zie akôk.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndendda*). This they spread over a hole (about ½ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbeng nsul*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abé*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akiel*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbeng akôm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akôm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye be'bengese b'aka*).

Many songs are used in *akôm*. Here are three specimens of them:—

(1) *Benan b'akete kobe? Bane benga eny mod.* Who speaks any more? (*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).